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President

Susan Houseman

Trade, Competitiveness, and Employment in the Global Economy

This article is based on papers presented at a 2013 conference titled "Measuring the Effects of Globalization." These papers will be published in a forthcoming book, Measuring Globalization*, edited by Susan Houseman and Michael Mandel, and published by the Upjohn Institute. Draft versions of these and other papers presented at the conference are available at http://www.upjohn.org/MEG/Conference_agenda.*

The globalization of the U.S. economy is evidenced by the rapid expansion of trade. In the 1960s, the volume of U.S. trade (imports plus exports) expressed as a percent of U.S. GDP was a mere 9 percent. That percentage has steadily expanded in the intervening years, and today trade is the equivalent of 30 percent of U.S. GDP. Large trade deficits and sharp declines in manufacturing employment accompanying the expansion of trade have fueled concerns about the loss of American competitiveness and the impacts of trade on U.S. workers.

Yet import and export data traditionally used by policymakers and researchers to study the global competitiveness of domestic industries and the effects of trade on employment, among other things, can be misleading. The reason: the fragmentation of production and the growth of global supply chains. With the break-up of vertically integrated companies and the development of extensive global production networks, imports from one country increasingly embed intermediate inputs produced in other countries. By extension, exports from a country may contain significant content from imported intermediates.

A session at the conference focused on efforts in the international statistical community to develop so-called trade in value-added measures. These measures are designed to provide a more accurate picture of what is made where and thereby allow a better understanding of trade flows and their economic impacts. In this article, I review some of this research, with a particular focus on insights that new trade in value-added data have for the competitiveness of U.S. industries and the employment trends in high-, medium-, and low-skilled occupations.

Trade in Value Added

The need for trade in value-added measures was popularized by case studies such as those of the Apple iPad and iPhone supply chains (Kraemer, Linden, and Dedrick 2011). Although the U.S.-based company Apple designs and distributes these products, it outsources all production. Final assembly of iPads and iPhones occurs in China in plants owned by the Taiwanese-based company Foxconn, with parts produced in Japan,

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Taiwan, South Korea, and Europe. Each iPad or iPhone imported into the United States adds between $200 and $300 to the U.S. bilateral trade deficit with China, yet Kraemer, Linden, and Dedrick estimate that only about $10 of the value, or about 4 percent, is captured by Chinese workers. As such case studies illustrate, bilateral trade deficits, which are measured by gross imports and exports, can be misleading in a world economy characterized by extensive global production chains.

At the conference, Timmer, Los, and de Vries (2013) presented work on the recently released World Input-Output Database (WIOD), a trade in value-added database sponsored by the European Community, while Ahmad (2013) reported on an initiative undertaken by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and the World Trade Organization (WTO) to create a more comprehensive and ongoing trade in value-added database, building on the WIOD and earlier efforts by U.S. and Japanese agencies. These databases involve the construction of global input-output (I-O) tables, providing a full accounting of how goods and services produced in each country are utilized as inputs or to meet final demand domestically and in other countries. These data permit the estimation, for example, of the value-added contribution (i.e., the payments to labor and capital) from each sector in each country to meet the final demand for goods and services globally. The WIOD and OECD-WTO databases also include information on labor input by skill or education level, which allows the separate computation of capital and labor compensation and employment or hours input by labor type. In addition, data on carbon emissions enable estimates of the environmental impacts of global production and trade.

While world I-O tables are conceptually straightforward, data gaps make their construction complex. One particular challenge is that countries generally do not collect information on the destination of imports in the economy, and so the assignment of imports to various industries in the I-O tables must be based on assumptions.[1]

Insights from Trade in Value-Added Data

The WIO and OECD-WTO data provide a number of insights into evolving patterns of global production, trade, and employment. Reflecting the growth of global supply chains, trade in intermediate inputs has grown, and the import value of exports is significant in all advanced countries. In the United States, the import value of exported manufactured products was about 15 percent in 2009.[2] At the same time, countries have become more dependent on foreign demand as a source of growth for income from manufactured products. In 1995, a quarter of the value added by the United States to meet demand worldwide for manufactured products derived from foreign countries; by 2008 that share had risen to a third. Similarly, foreign demand accounted for almost half of Chinese value added for manufactures in 2008, up from about a third in 1995 (Timmer, Los, and de Vries 2013, Table 3).

Value-added data also reveal the critical role of services in world trade. Services account for about two-thirds of GDP in most advanced economies, but less than a quarter of total trade, as measured by conventional import and export statistics. But these statistics do not factor in the value added by the services sector in traded manufactured products. When computed on a value-added basis, services account for over half of the export value in most countries, including the United States (Ahmad 2013, Figure 6). Similarly, about half of the jobs directly and indirectly needed to produce manufactured products currently are generated outside the manufacturing sector, with the share accounted for by services growing over time (Timmer, Los, and de Vries 2013).

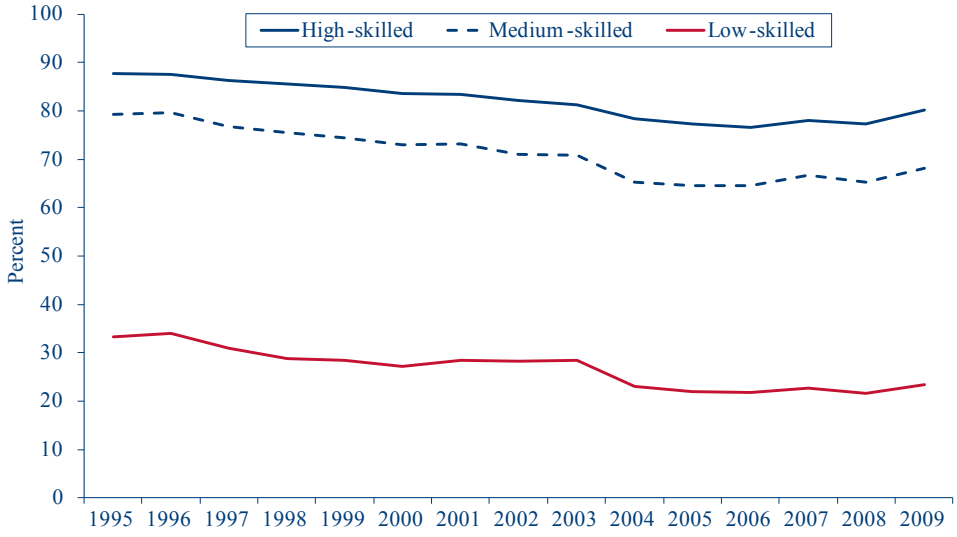
World I-O tables provide a useful tool for assessing the global competitiveness of a nation's industries. As illustrated with the Apple iPad and iPhone examples, a nation's export share can be misleading, since a large component of the value of exports from countries specializing in final processing or assembly may reflect imported inputs. As an alternative competitiveness measure, Timmer, Los, and de Vries (2013) use what they call a country's share of the global value chain (GVC) income—a country's share of income to capital and labor to meet world demand for particular goods and services. The data show a substantial shift in GVC income from advanced countries to emerging economies. In 1995, advanced economies accounted for about three-fourths of the value added in the production of manufactured goods worldwide; that share had fallen to about 50 percent by 2011 (Timmer, Los, and de Vries 2013, Figure 3).[3] The U.S. value-added share for manufactured products worldwide fell from 20 percent in 1995 to 17 percent in 2009, with particularly large declines in textiles, leather, wood products, electrical and optical equipment, and transportation equipment.[4] Data from world I-O tables also reveal that globally the share of income going to capital and high-skilled labor has been rising, while that to low- and medium-skilled labor has been falling (Timmer, Los, and de Vries 2013).

Trade and American Jobs

Much policy attention in the United States has focused on globalization's effects on workers. While many are concerned that the rapid growth of trade has harmed job growth, the Great Recession and weak jobs recovery since 2009 has spurred the Obama Administration to focus policy efforts on increasing exports to boost employment. New data from world I-O tables provide useful background on how the global distribution of jobs has changed and how American workers of varying skill levels have fared vis-à-vis their counterparts in other countries in recent years.

The indirect foreign labor content of U.S. manufactured goods has risen substantially since the mid-1990s, underscoring the importance of accounting for imported intermediates in estimating the domestic employment effects of export promotion policies. Figure 1 displays trends in the U.S. share of labor input (in hours) by skill level used to meet world demand for all U.S. manufactured products, based on data from the WIOD. High-skilled workers

Figure 1 U.S. Share of Labor Hours Used to Meet Global Demand for U.S. Manufactured Products, by Skill Level



NOTE: Labor hours include direct and indirect labor used in the production of manufactured products. About half of these labor hours are worked in nonmanufacturing sectors.
SOURCE: Author's calculations from the World Input-Output Database.

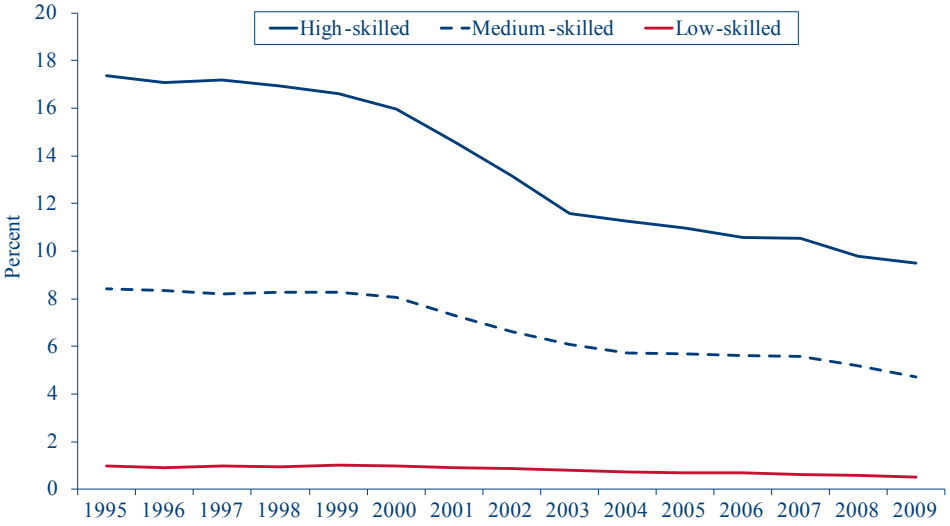
refer to those with a college education, medium-skilled workers are those with a high-school education, and low-skilled workers lack a high school degree. The U.S. share of direct and indirect labor hours used in the production of U.S. manufactured goods has fallen over time for all skill levels. This trend is consistent with the rising share of imported intermediates used in U.S. manufacturing. Perhaps not surprisingly, the U.S. share of low-skilled labor embedded in U.S. manufactured products is low and has fallen from 33 percent in 1995 to 23 percent in 2009, reflecting the shift in sourcing to developing countries for tasks requiring low-skilled labor.

Because U.S. goods and services are inputs in the production of manufactured products overseas, it is necessary to examine labor shares to meet worldwide demand for manufactured products to understand how the distribution of jobs in the global economy has shifted. Figure 2 shows that the U.S. share of direct and indirect labor hours used in the global production of manufactured products has fallen, most strikingly for high-skilled workers. In 1995 the United States accounted for about 17 percent of high-skilled labor used directly or indirectly to meet world demand for manufacturing products; by 2009 that share was just 9 percent.

One must be cautious in drawing conclusions from these descriptive statistics. Falling labor shares could reflect higher labor productivity growth in the United States compared to other countries or the more rapid expansion of demand in emerging economies, which might be disproportionately met by local production. Moreover, trade is not a zero-sum game, and a decline in a country's labor share does not necessarily imply an absolute decline in the number of workers involved in the production of manufactured goods.

In advanced economies, while the number of workers in medium- and low-skilled jobs associated with manufacturing has universally fallen, the number in high-skilled jobs generally has increased, mitigating those declines. The United States is the only exception to this pattern (Timmer, Los, and de Vries 2013). Despite the large increase in global demand for manufactured products since 1995, the number of Americans in high-skilled jobs associated with meeting this demand, along with the number in medium- and low-skilled jobs, has fallen. Given that the United States is presumed to have a comparative advantage in high-skilled labor, this finding is surprising and suggests that college-educated workers in the United States have fared relatively poorly in the global economy.

Figure 2 U.S. Share of Labor Hours Used to Meet Global Demand for All Manufactured Products, by Skill Level



NOTE: Labor hours include direct and indirect labor used in the production of manufactured products. About half of these labor hours are worked in nonmanufacturing sectors.
SOURCE: Author's calculations using World Input-Output Database.

Notes

The conference, "Measuring Globalization," was cosponsored by the Upjohn Institute and the Progressive Policy Institute and funded by the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation.

1. Yao, Ma, and Pei (2013) illustrate the challenges of estimating the import content of exports in China's huge processing sector, and Ahmad (2013) describes initiatives be taken by OECD to improve the quality of data in world I-O tables.
2. This figure is based on the author's calculations using the WIOD.
3. Timmer et al. (2013) focus on competitiveness measures for manufactured products because data on I-O relationships for services industries are relatively crude in most countries.
4. Figures are author's calculations based on the WIOD.

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Yao, Shunli, Hong Ma, and Jiansuo Pei. 2013. "Import Uses and Domestic Value-Added in Chinese Exports: What Can We Learn from Chinese Microdata?" Paper presented at the conference "Measuring the Effects of Globalization," held in Washington, DC, February 28–March 1.

Susan Houseman is a senior economist at the Upjohn Institute.

Steven Raphael

Mass Incarceration and Employment

This is an excerpt from a forthcoming Upjohn Press book, The New Scarlet Letter? Negotiating the U.S. Labor Market with a Criminal Record, *by Steven Raphael. To preorder the book, visit www.upjohn.org/Publications/Titles/TheNewScarletLetter.*

In 2011, nearly 700,000 people were released from either a state or federal prison. These releases added to the roughly 6 million adults who have served prison time in the past. Many will experience a host of difficulties upon reentering noninstitutional society. Those with minor children (especially incarcerated men) often accumulate substantial back child-support obligations while incarcerated and face the legal requirement to pay down the balance. Many face precarious housing situations and a high risk of homelessness following release. Most have little in the way of assets and receive a very small amount of "gate money" upon release, usually no more than a few hundred dollars. Many will be returned to custody for either parole violations or for a new felony offense. In light of these problems and the sheer numbers of individuals released from our prisons each year, policymakers at all levels of government are increasingly focused on how to foster and support the successful reentry of former prison inmates.

For a myriad of reasons, stable employment is of central importance to the successful reentry of former inmates into society. To start, the material well being of most released inmates depends principally on what they can earn in the labor market. The U.S. social safety net provides little by way of public assistance for the nonworking poor, especially for able-bodied and nonelderly men. Thus, avoiding material poverty requires gainful employment.

Second, economic research has demonstrated that the likelihood of committing crime depends to some extent on having something to lose. Those with good jobs and good employment prospects in the legitimate labor market tend to commit less crime. Those with poor employment prospects tend to commit more. Higher criminal participation among those with low earnings may be driven by the need to generate income to meet basic needs, a sense that the potential losses associated with being caught and punished are low when legitimate job opportunities are rare, or a general sense of not playing a meaningful role outside of prison. Regardless of the causal avenue, the transition to stable employment is often characterized as a key determinant of desistance from criminal activity and the process of disentangling oneself from the criminal justice system.

Stable employment is of central importance to the successful reentry of former inmates into society.

Third, most released male inmates are of an age where they are firmly attached to the labor force and where conventional norms regarding responsible adult behavior prescribe steady legitimate work and supporting one's dependents. Facilitating "buy in" among former inmates into conventional society requires that they be afforded the opportunity to transition into the standard roles of other law-abiding citizens.

Finally, formal employment provides daily structure and a sense of purpose for many—factors that may prevent further criminal activity. Criminologists have studied in-depth the "incapacitation effect" of prison—that is, the extent to which prisons reduce crime by forcibly segregating the criminally active. Of course, many other activities incapacitate criminal activity, if we interpret the

word *incapacitation* broadly. Schools tend to reduce the criminal activity of youth by keeping them busy during the day. Marriage tends to incapacitate the criminal activity of young men as the accompanying newfound responsibilities and activities supplant more crime-prone settings and pursuits. Extending the metaphor to the labor market, having something to do during the day that generates legitimate income leaves less time for committing crime. Moreover, daily exposure to coworkers who are more firmly attached to legitimate work and less involved in crime may provide an alternative set of positive role models who demonstrate how to live one's life within the bounds of the law.

Unfortunately, the employment prospects of many former inmates upon leaving prison are bleak. Moreover, most face many challenges specific to former prisoners that are likely to hamper their labor market prospects for years to come. Of paramount importance are the characteristics of former inmates themselves. Those who serve time in prison are far from a representative cross-section of the U.S. adult population. Inmates, and former inmates, are disproportionately male, have very low levels of formal educational attainment, are disproportionately minority, have unstable employment histories, and often have a history of substance abuse problems. In addition, the prevalence of severe mental illness is quite high. Independent of having a criminal record, most of these characteristics are predictive of poor employment outcomes in the U.S. labor market in their own right.

These factors are compounded by the general wariness of employers and the stigma associated with a criminal history and having served time in a prison. A consistent finding in surveys of employers is a strong reluctance to hire an applicant with a criminal history, and an increasing tendency of employers to either directly ask an applicant about one's history or to use third-party firms to conduct more formal and thorough background checks.

In this book I explore the labor market prospects of the growing population of former prison inmates in the United States. In particular, I document the specific challenges created by the characteristics of this population and the common hiring and screening practices of U.S. employers. In addition, I discuss various policy efforts to improve the employment prospects and limit the future criminal activity of former prison inmates either by improving the skills and qualifications of these job seekers or through the provision of incentives to employers to hire such individuals.

The Scale and Scope of Incarceration in the United States

Table 1 presents estimates combining data from the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) and the U.S. Census Bureau of the proportion of adults aged 18–65 in 2007 who were incarcerated on any given day. The table displays figures for adults in this age range by gender and by broad racial/ethnic groups to highlight some the key disparities. Slightly more than 2 percent of men are incarcerated on any given day, with roughly 80 percent of these men in a state or federal prison. The percentage of women incarcerated is much smaller by comparison (0.2 percent). Table 1 also reveals enormous racial and ethnic disparities in the proportion incarcerated, with the percentage of black males in prison or jail on any given day more than seven times the figure for white males, and the percentage for Hispanic males roughly two and a half times that of white males. The ordering of the racial differential among women is similar, though the disparities are muted relative to what we see among men.

Perhaps a more relevant way to characterize the scope of incarceration for the purposes of understanding the consequences for the U.S. labor market is to discuss the proportion of individuals who at some point in their lives have served time in prison or will serve time in prison. Such a characterization would help us understand the extent and dimensions of the subpopulation of U.S. adults who have been physically removed from the workforce and that now have a prison spell on record for the remainder of their work careers. Fortunately, the BJS has produced such figures for broad categories of U.S. adults, while independent researchers have produced estimates for specific subgroups of interest.

Figure 1 presents BJS estimates of the percentage of adult men in the United States who have served time in a state or federal prison in 2001, as well as the projected chance that a male child born in 2001 will serve prison time at some point in his life. Naturally, both estimates are much larger than the percentage of men incarcerated on any given day. For example, 2.6 percent of white men have served prison time at some point in their lives, while the figures in Table 1 indicate that on any given day only 0.7 percent of white men are in prison. Over 16 percent

Table 1 Percentage of Adults Aged 18–65 Incarcerated in 2007, by Gender and Race/Ethnicity

	Incarcerated in any institution	Incarcerated in a county jail	Incarcerated in a state prison	Incarcerated in a federal prison
All men	2.2	0.7	1.3	0.2
Non-Hispanic white	1.1	0.4	0.7	0.1
Non-Hispanic black	7.9	2.5	4.7	0.8
Hispanic	2.7	0.9	1.5	0.3
Non-Hispanic other	1.1	0.3	0.6	0.1
All Women	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.0
Non-Hispanic white	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0
Non-Hispanic black	0.6	0.3	0.3	0.0
Hispanic	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.0
Non-Hispanic other	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0

SOURCE: Raphael and Stoll (2013).

of African-American men have served time in prison, while 5.5 percent are incarcerated on any given day.

The BJS estimates of the lifetime chances of serving prison time are truly staggering. The estimates indicate that fully one-third of African-American male children born in 2001 can expect to serve time in prison at some point in their lives. The comparable figures for Hispanics and whites are 17.2 and 5.9 percent, respectively.

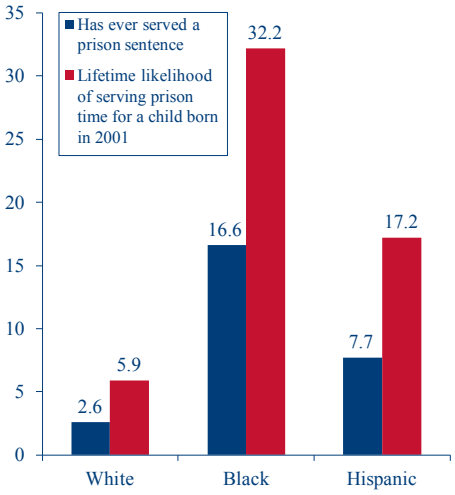
Figure 2 presents comparable results for women. Again, we see much lower rates for women relative to men, yet higher percentages ever serving time than are incarcerated in prisons on any given day. Black women are by far the most likely to have done time and face the highest chances of a prison spell at some point in their lives. The absolute disparities between women of different race and ethnicity, however, are much smaller than what we observe among men.

To be sure, these estimates mask enormous differences that exist when we split the population along various additional dimensions. The growing incarceration rate coupled with the documented fact that people are most criminally active during their teens and early twenties means that younger generations in the United States coming of age during the prison boom face much higher risks of serving prison time than older generations. Pettit and Western (2004) estimate that roughly one-fifth of black men born between 1965 and 1969 served prison time by 1999, a figure roughly four percentage points higher than the figure for black men overall. As this birth cohort was roughly 30–34 years of age in 1999 and younger on average than the average adult black male in this year, this fact implies that the prevalence of a past prison spell is higher among younger African-American males compared to older African-American males.

Moreover, there are enormous disparities in the proportion that have ever been to prison by educational attainment. High school dropouts are the most likely to have done time, with male high school dropouts, particularly black male high school dropouts, having a particularly high incidence of prior prison incarcerations. For the birth cohort that Pettit and Western (2004) study, the authors find that nearly 60 percent of black male high school dropouts served prison time by their early thirties. In some of my own research on California, I found that nearly 90 percent of the state's black male high school dropouts had served prison time by the end of the 1990s (Raphael 2006).

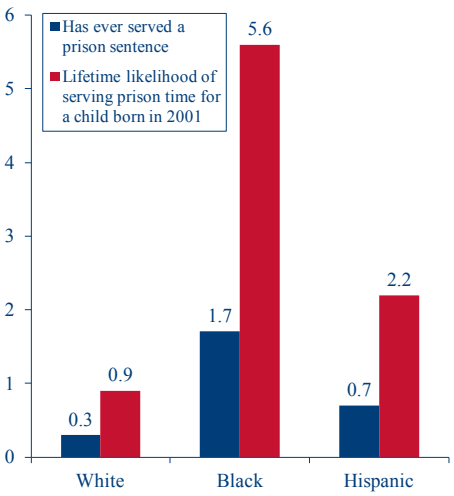
On any given day, a small minority of the adult population is incarcerated in the nation's prisons and jails. However, the population that has ever served time or that will serve time is considerably larger. The large racial disparities and the disparities in incarceration rates by educational attainment that we have briefly touched upon suggest that the particular handicap of a prior prison record disproportionately impacts those who are already at a disadvantage in the U.S. labor market. Hence, the incidence of criminal justice involvement in the United States may be aggravating already existing inequities.

Figure 1: Percentage of U.S. Adult Men That Have Ever Been Incarcerated in a State or Federal Prison and the Lifetime Likelihood of Going to Prison for a Male Child Born in 2001



SOURCE: Bonczar (2003).

Figure 2: Percentage of U.S. Adult Women That Have Ever Been Incarcerated in a State or Federal Prison and the Lifetime Likelihood of Going to Prison for a Female Child Born in 2001



SOURCE: Bonczar (2003).

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Steven Raphael is a professor of public policy at the University of California, Berkeley.

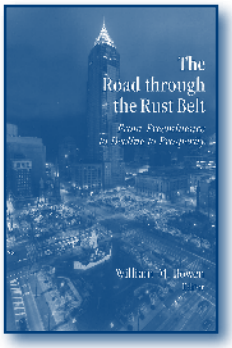
New Books from the Upjohn Press

The Road through the Rust Belt

From Preeminence to Decline to Prosperity

William M. Bowen, Editor

By now the story is familiar: A once-booming midwestern city whose growth was fueled by manufacturing is



now struggling with a lack of jobs, declining population, abandoned properties, weak infrastructure, and dire finances. Inhabitants often flee to areas offering economic opportunity and better schools. Yet others stay, seeking and often finding entrepreneurial opportunities that help restore lost prosperity.

This is the theme of this new book. It addresses many of the common reasons why these cities suffered decline and the many solutions proposed and efforts already undertaken that seek to reverse the decline and spur rejuvenation.

The contributors discuss the reasons for the deterioration of Rust Belt cities, including globalization, energy policy–related issues, and even the impact of air conditioning on location decisions. They also detail the entrepreneurial efforts undertaken in cities such as Cleveland that are helping to reinvigorate once-depressed areas, offer suggestions related to investments in workforce training and current energy policy, critique the use of economic development subsidies, discuss the success of clusters at reviving old industrial cities, and provide cultural insights on business practices in China.

329 pp. 2014
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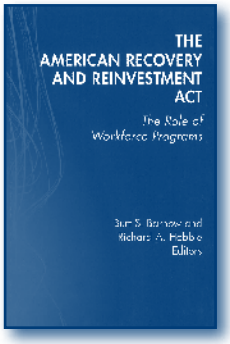
The American Recovery and Reinvestment Act

The Role of Workforce Programs

Burt S. Barnow and
Richard A. Hobbie, Editors

Policymakers responded to economic turmoil caused by the Great Recession by enacting the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act. Signed into law in early 2009, the Recovery Act was



intended to provide economic stimulus mainly by saving and creating much-needed jobs.

During the run-up to enactment, as the recession deepened, state labor exchange agencies faced serious challenges in meeting the needs of the growing number of job seekers. The unemployment insurance (UI) system was similarly taxed. The Recovery Act provided funding to agencies that allowed them to hire additional staff and expand eligibility and services.

This volume examines whether those additional funds—funneled through the Employment Service and the UI system—were adequate to meet the significant challenges facing the agencies, and whether the agencies used the funding in a timely and efficient manner.

This book serves as an important state-by-state reference on the workings of a system that, stretched as it was, helped many despite the unprecedented challenges it faced.

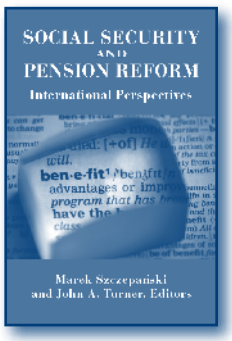
431 pp. 2013
$30 paper 978-0-88099-471-2

Social Security and Pension Reform

International Perspectives

Marek Szczepański and
John A. Turner, Editors

Countries around the world are reforming their social security and pension systems. These reforms are



motivated in part by population aging, but they also are occurring in response to economic development in Africa, China, and elsewhere, and are due to changing views about how retirement income should be provided. Countries often look to international experience when considering reform options, and this book discusses social security and pension reform issues in different parts of the world.

The book is divided into four sections: 1) an overview of the international trends in social security and pension reform; 2) reforms in Europe, including Central and Eastern Europe; 3) reforms in Australia, Asia, Africa, and the Americas; and 4) a discussion of reform-related issues, including pension fund governance and financial literacy, education, and advice.

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